

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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L.P. Conference a Victory for Right Wing

BEVIN WINS DAY FOR IMPERIALISM

TIGHTEN YOUR BELTS—says Dalton

BY ROY TEARSE

THE 1947 LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE WAS A VICTORY FOR THE RIGHT WING. THE EXECUTIVE AND THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT SUCCEEDED, WITHOUT ANY IMPORTANT OPPOSITION, IN GAINING OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FOR THEIR POLICY. AT NO STAGE IN THE CONFERENCE DID THEY RECEIVE ANY SERIOUS CHALLENGE ON ANY MAJOR ASPECT OF POLICY. THEY WERE EVEN MORE SECURELY IN THE SADDLE THAN AT THE CONFERENCE OF 1946.

Instead of a fighting socialist programme to mobilise the workers against capitalism, the Labour leaders offered a perspective of "austerity and hard work." According to Morrison, the "soaking" of the rich had reached its limit, and now the workers must work harder and must not embark on strike activity. Dalton promised not cuts in military expenditure or inroads into the rising profits of the capitalist class, but threatened cuts in imports of all food except for the barest necessities of life. This was accepted without serious opposition.

The results of the Conference show that the Government will continue with its present policy unabated. In Britain, minor reforms, nationalisation and a speed-up in industry in the interests of the capitalist economy and at the expense of the workers. Abroad, a policy of imperialism, albeit masked by a "progressive" varnish.

Taking advantage of the tremendous loyalty they are receiving from the working class, the Labour leaders expounded a policy of sweat and toil. Morrison set the pace. Leading the debate on domestic policy he demanded a breaking down of "restrictive" practices, the acceptance of piece-work, and an end to struggles for higher wages and lower hours. At the same time he showed his opposition to any serious measures against the employers. Despite the huge profits that are being wrung from the workers, he stated:

"Believe me, there is little or no more to be got towards a better standard of living by squeezing the incomes of the rich."

He denounced the struggles of workers for elementary demands, in "unofficial" strikes, as "sabotage with violence."

In order to get this policy across, he took as his theme the donkey and the carrot: "Both of us have to draw our belts a bit tighter to-day in order to build up and consolidate our power to achieve a high standard of living to-morrow."

Dalton, replying to this debate, attempted to reinforce Morrison's policy by painting a picture of economic catastrophe unless the

workers co-operated in the Government's plans. Regardless of the millions of pounds of compensation paid to ex-coal owners, and other employers, and justifying his mild taxation of the rich, he threatened the workers with serious cuts in imports, thereby worsening their living standards, if they did not fall into line.

Tory Foreign Policy To Continue

On Foreign Policy, Bevin, even more blatantly than in 1946, defended the continuation of imperialist policy. Skillfully utilising the seemingly "progressive" character of the steps they had taken in Egypt and India, forced on them because of their weakness in face of the movements of the peoples in these countries, he covered up the fact that their policy towards the colonial masses remains unchanged from that of their Tory predecessors. But he

explained the reactionary argument of the hold-on-the-oil resources of the Middle East, and the consequent exploitation of the masses of these countries, must be maintained. Publicly he admitted that the activities of Rex Leeper in Greece against the Greek workers and peasants were on orders from the Government. He justified the activities of the American ruling class in Turkey and Greece. He explained away the activities of British imperialism at the Councils of the Big Four and the United Nations by astutely using the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy is playing the same game of power politics.

Equal Pay Embarrasses Platform

On all the fundamental questions of policy the platform received an



ERNEST BEVIN — Living in a Fool's Paradise.

German P.O.W.s Assist Evicted Family

BY P. DOWNEY

German P.O.W.s at Woodborough, Notts, have assisted a working class family callously thrown onto the streets by an eviction order. These prisoners have demonstrated in action the class solidarity and community of interests of the toilers of all countries.

What they saw from their camp must have been a good lesson in their education of how "democracy" works in England.

They watched Farmer E. Exton of Stoup Hill evicting Mrs. W. H. Fox (under a court order) from Prospect Cottage, owned by him.

Since 1943, when Mr. Fox was invaded from the army, the family had lived in Prospect Cottage, paying £1 a week rent.

But Farmer Exton needed the cottage for one of his labourers. He took the case to court and won it.

Mrs. Fox, weeping, clutching a baby, and also a boy of three, was evicted bodily into the road besides her furniture.

So for 12 hours, until Mr. Fox came back from the tobacco factory where he worked, his wife and children sat in the roadside. The P.O.W.s tried to console them making them tea and giving them food from their rations.

That in the evening, with a five

boards over the holes and found an oil lamp.

Mrs. Fox remarked to a "News Chronicle" reporter, "These Germans have been wonderful. All today they have fed and looked after us. They are gentlemen."

Mr. Fox added quietly: "Today I am almost ashamed of having fought against the Germans in the War."

This episode clearly demonstrates that when the workers of one country are in difficulties, workers of other countries come to their assistance.

What an indictment on the Labour Government which was elected to legislate in the interests of the working class, standing aloof, and allowing landlords to evict workers on to the roadside! And that German P.O.W.s whom they are keeping as slave labour in the interests of British imperialism, should do their work for them by finding accommodation for the evicted family!

We have an opportunity today of forging a lasting class bond with these German workers by intensifying the demand that the Labour Government repatriate all P.O.W.s and withdraws the troops from Germany.

RAIL WORKERS WANT LIVING WAGE

BY SID BIDWELL

The decision of the Rail Union's leaders to take the workers' claims for a shorter working week and wage increases to an "Industrial Court" will be greeted with scepticism by the workers in the industry. For they have already had a rich experience of such bodies before in the shape of the Railway Staff National Tribunal, whose decisions have always favoured heavily the interests of the bosses against the workers.

Where concessions have been granted by these Tribunals in the past, it has only been under the threat of a mass movement by the workers.

An Industrial Court enquiry means the acceptance by the Union chiefs of whatever it cares to offer to the workers whether it be a small pittance or nothing.

N.U.R. Claim

The N.U.R. claim is for a 40 hour week outside of Sunday work, and a £1 per week increase. The decision to make these demands was reached last January. At inner union meetings there has been no shortage of militant sounding speeches by leading officials and E.C. members as to their determination to go forward for the full demand. The latest decision will serve to show how earnest they really were.

Railway wages are notoriously low even in comparison with other industries. Wage rates of 85/- in many sections are common. The only way railwaymen can live is on the basis of Sunday, night and overtime rates, which are not available in all instances. Under these circumstances in this period of full employment a big ratio of experienced and skilled men have left the railways. The N.U.R. went to the extent of circularising its Branches for information as to the numbers who have left, and for what jobs and wages.

Leaders' Excuses

In a speech to a Branch Secretaries' Conference held in May at Torquay, J. Benstead cast an illuminating light on his own mentality and capacity, and that of the Labour Government. He told the Conference that in discussions with Ministers on the question it had been said that losses in revenues were estimated this year, and that, a wage increase can be

granted only if rates and fares are steeply increased. This would, it was claimed, lead to an upward spiral of living costs in all directions affecting everyone. It was stated that the Government's policy is to bring down the cost of living.

£20,000,000 Yearly To Shareholders

Because of these specious arguments, some members of the E.C. have been freely calling for such an increase in rates and fares. Not one word has been said by the gentlemen about the £20 million or so guaranteed yearly to the shareholders under the terms of the Government's Nationalisation Scheme.

The falling revenues of the railways are largely due to the worn-out state of wagons and locomotives, which carried an unprecedented load during the war years without replacement. A special sinking-fund which has accumulated £190 millions during the war to meet this position was created. Shareholders' organisations have made repeated efforts to get their hands on this.

To the claim that revenues are falling, the workers must raise the demand that the Company Books be opened now for Trade Union inspection to prove the substance or otherwise of the companies' estimations.

To the arguments of those who seek to divide the workers by calling for increased rates and fares, we must campaign for Nationalisation without Compensation. Not a penny on rates and fares until the financial parasites have been "shed" from the backs of the railway and other workers.

A.E.U., E.C. BETRAYS ADREMA STRIKE Workers Return to Work

At a meeting of strikers held in Acton on June 3rd the 200 Adrema workers decided to return to work. They had been out for about a month following the management's victimisation of almost the complete shop organisation.

The York Memo Must Go

The Adrema case will now go through "procedure". The strikers have been compelled to take the road of the York Memorandum. How many cases have gone along this road—to defeat? The workers came out on strike because the experience of so many cases of victimisation in the past few years has shown the futility of attempting to defend victimised stewards by this means. The York Memo. and its procedure must be scrapped. In its place there must be a bold policy to defend shop organisations. Such a policy must ensure that no sackings must take place without the sanction of the shop-stewards who must control the hiring and firing of the workers.

"Communist" Party Sabotage—By Silence

There are, we feel, still other lessons to be learned by the strikers and by all A.E.U. members. One lesson is the role that the "Communist" Party play in the A.E.U. Brother Berridge, London Organiser and Brother Scott, E.C. member, are well known members of the Communist Party. The London District Committee of the A.E.U. is dominated by the Communist Party. Many Shop

Stewards' Committees in the North London District are dominated by the Communist Party. The Adrema strikers know themselves of the control in the West London area the Communist Party have in the A.E.U. Was this powerful support used by the Communist Party to aid the strikers? Unfortunately not!

True, the Communist Party did not come out openly against the strike, but why the conspicuous silence of the "Daily Worker" after the first bare report? What happened to the promises of Piratin that he would press the matter in Parliament? Far from pressing the case, there was not one word from Piratin. In fact, the policy of the Communist Party was to hold back support and thereby assist in breaking the strike, adding to the hardship of the strikers. Rank and file members of the Communist Party should know that there is a word in the Trade Union movement for such action! They must ask themselves why was the Party not mobilised to get assistance. Here was fundamental Trade Unionism at stake.

Why did Communist Party members speak against resolutions of support in the Union branches? Why did Trotskyists and union militants in the District have to

organise collections in the factories in the district against indifference and passivity of the C.P. leadership in the factories in the locality?

In contrast to this, was the policy of the Trotskyists. Through our members in the unions, through the columns of the "Socialist Appeal" and by all the means in our power we have given and will continue to give whatever support we can to the workers whenever they are in action against the bosses.

During this bitter strike against the victimisation of eight active union members, four of whom are shop stewards, the workers had to combat not only the might of the Employers' Federation, the Ministry of Labour, but the sabotage of the Trade Union leadership, and the so-called Communist Party. That the workers stuck it so long is due to their great class solidarity and a hard working strike committee.

In Parliament, the efforts of the local Labour M.P., Mr. Sparks (Acton), to aid the strikers met with a vicious counter attack from Isaac, Minister of Labour, who one would think had been elected to represent the interests of the employers. Mr. Sparks said that: "the dispute originated through

Profits Rising in 'Socialist' Britain

BY G. NOZEDA

WHILE THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT FROWNS UPON EVERY MOVE BY THE WORKERS TO DEMAND JUSTIFIED WAGE INCREASES AS "INOPPORTUNE", "UNTIMELY", "NOT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST", AND SO FORTH, THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND ITS COUPON CLIPPING PARASITES ARE REAPING A GOLDEN HARVEST OF PROFITS.

Almost every day, reports of over-subscribing for shares on the market, appear in the press. Companies, with shares to sell receive more offers than they can cope with.

Since the end of the war particularly, almost every capitalist enterprise in Britain has made huge profits. The "Economist" reports: "Gross profits of 311 companies during the first 11 weeks of this year amount to £92,200,000. This is a rise of nearly 12% over the comparative period of 1946."

Reflecting this rich harvest for the capitalist profiteers are the few examples of company profits shown here. Food, building trades, electrical equipment, motor cars, engineering, shipbuilding, etc., have all been a profitable source of income for the wealthy capitalist monopolies and coupon-clipping parasites. It is to these investing classes that the financial column of the "Daily Telegraph" addresses itself, when it reports:

"Anyone who feared that rising engineering costs might have jeopardised profit-earning capacity was taken by surprise yesterday by the preliminary figures announced by Morris Motors. Net surplus for 1946, struck before providing for taxation, jumped from £1,944,097 to £2,957,572, a striking reflection of profitable trading conditions in home and export markets." (10.5.47).

Other companies have similar good news for their idle shareholders. The big cement group, Associated Portland Cement Co., reports that their total profits jumped from £1,493,133 in 1945 to £2,229,966 in 1946. Profits of the British subsidiary company, were also higher, their total profits for 1946 being £1,176,073 as against £678,216 in 1945.

The Associated Electrical Industries report a consolidated net profit for their group of £1,502,000 for 1946 as compared with £888,000 for 1945.

The shipbuilding and engineering firm of Vickers also report a very profitable year for 1946 when their

net profits rose from £971,509 in 1945 to £1,076,224 in 1946.

In the food groups of the Home and Colonial Group of grocery stores enjoyed a big rise in profits for 1946 of £1,203,948 as compared with £955,433 in 1945. Lipton Ltd., another grocery stores chain, reported £294,281 as their profit for 1946, an increase of £50,115 over the 1945 profits. W. J. Brookes and Sons (Bakers), report a profit for 1946 of £40,626 as against £25,570 in 1945.

But beside the profits of a big monopoly octopus like the I.C.I., these figures seem like chicken feed. This giant capitalist monopoly reports a profit rise of almost three million pounds for 1946! The report of the Company states: "The total sales value of exports in 1946 was £32,300,000, which compares with the figure of £11,800,000 in 1935. Profits for 1946 were £4,770,062 in 1945."

Other big rises are recorded by the Cunard Steam Ship Co., whose disclosed gross earnings in 1946 were £1,400,763 as against £1,093,903 in 1945. Profits in 1946, £699,064 as compared with £445,917 for 1945.

This happy and profitable state of affairs for the capitalists and the coupon-clippers has not been upset at all by the pin-prick of a profits-tax that Dalton included in the Budget. In fact, the general opinion of the capitalist class, that it was "a good budget", means that it was good for them. As far as the worker can see, the Labour leaders urge him to work hard, to increase production, and to "lay-off" the wage claims. But they take no resolute steps to curtail the profiteering of the capitalist and coupon-clipping parasites who are reaping the benefits of increased output.

Until the profits of the exploiters are expropriated there can be no talk of "socialist" economy in Britain.

Indian Trotskyists Persecuted

Bombay—16 May, 1947.

The feverish campaign of the Indian capitalists against their Trotskyist opponents has spread from Madras to Bombay.

On Thursday, May 15, the Bombay Office of the Bolshevik Leninist Party was searched and two comrades—Indra Sen and Ananth Madekar—were arrested. Comrade Sen's lodging was also searched.

Comrade Sen is charged with being the Editor of a Marathi-language bulletin, produced without official authorisation. His case comes up for hearing on May 30, and in the meantime he has been released on a bail of 1,000 rupees.

Comrade Sen has been in the thick of the anti-imperialist struggle since his student days in Calcutta. He was arrested during the Civil Disobedience movement in 1931. In 1941 he was first deported from Calcutta, then placed under house arrest in Calcutta and finally a warrant for his arrest was issued. Until the end of the war, however, he managed to elude the grasp of the police.

Comrade Sen is a member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the B.L.P.I., and of the Editorial Board of the Party's English newspaper, "New Spark". Comrade Madekar is detained without trial for an indefinite period, charged with "inciting workers to commit acts of violence and thereby acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety and

tranquility of Greater Bombay." His detention is empowered by the Bombay Public Security Measures Act No. 6 of 1947, under which the accused may "make a representation to the Police Commissioner against the Order"—that is, make a representation to the very man who has detained him.

On May 14, a worker, Rajaram Krishna Bilye, was deported from the City of Bombay on the same charge. He had worked with Comrade Madekar in the New-Kaiser-Hind Mills in which 6,000 workers are employed. Comrade Antonypillai, President of the Marathi Labour Union and member of the C.C. of B.L.P.I., whose arrest and detention have been earlier reported, has been deported to Ceylon by the Madras Government in a final desperate attempt to crush the 80 days' old strike of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mill workers. The workers, however, remain solid.

M. USMAN

HOUSING IN BIRMINGHAM

In 1872 Friedrich Engels wrote a pamphlet on the housing problems of the day. In April 1947, the Birmingham City Council produced a Housing Survey which had occupied sixty enumerators six months to produce. One might suppose that the findings of these two books—separated by almost 75 years of progress (?) would be flagrantly different. On the contrary, they demonstrate the old saying that "the leopard cannot change his spots." For capitalism is no more able to provide decent housing for the workers than it can decently feed and clothe us.

The survey revealed that 142,523—or almost exactly half of the houses possess no bathroom accommodation at all! 35,000—or one in every eight—have no water-closet accommodation.

These figures show why the Sanitary Department is always such an overworked arm of local government (or as is apparent, mis-government). They also effectively disprove the old canard that "the workers would only keep coal in the bath if they had bathrooms." The truth is that capitalism doesn't even give them a chance! When we reflect how few live in the large houses of the rich and how many are crammed into slum property, the gross injustice of all this is clear.

About 30,000 houses—or approximately 10%—are of the back to back variety so frequently condemned by Medical Officers of Health, architects, building experts and social workers of all brands. 6,500 houses have no separate water supply. So in a street of 600 houses—not an uncommon thing in the working class areas of big cities—at least a dozen would be sharing the same outdoor tap. 417 houses in this city—whose motto is "Forward"—have neither gas nor electricity supplies.

Each occupied dwelling now accommodates 3.6 persons. In the central wards of the city, where the working class families are concentrated—3.3 per cent. were

living in over-crowded conditions. 1.3 per cent. in the Middle Ring, and 1.9 per cent. in the Outer Ring. Despite the fact that the Ministry of Health 1936 standards for over-crowding—which were scandalously low—are still in force, these figures reveal that working class over-crowding in the centre, where its effects are most devastating to human life and health, is almost double that in the more fortunate suburban estates. Yet even this comparison is not correct, because over-crowding in Outer Ring Council Houses has increased from 3.75 to 5.40 per cent. in the last 10 years.

In fact, the estimate of houses now unfit for human habitation and ready for immediate demolition outside the Council redevelopment scheme, is 25,000. This makes a total of 45,000 new houses needed at once. At the present rate of building, it will be Nine Years before pre-fabs, recovered flats, permanent houses, etc., replace these condemned hovels. By that time 1945 pre-fabs will themselves be slums.

The excess of families over houses is 15,533. Quoting this "Your Business" (Monthly Corporation news-sheet cynically gets housing requirements there at 6,788 because "... sharing families do not all require or in fact desire, a separate house." Again, although it quotes the number of statutorily over-crowded, at 5,754, it considers only 3,165 need houses because "... the previously over-crowded house is then available for rehousing in a smaller family."

This is the short-term problem. The long-term one of building houses containing bathrooms will take till 1997 at the present building rate. By then the present Council Houses will be the slums of tomorrow.

So we see that 1887 or 1947, the problem for the worker has not changed. In a further article we shall deal with the solution to the problem.

ARROW

Anti-Labour Moves In Singapore

The banning of the Singapore Federation of Trade Unions with a total membership of 82,000 by representative of the Labour Government ends a long period of threats to make the movement illegal.

This working class organisation caters for the vast majority of trade union workers on the island, having 6 unions affiliated to it. With its brother section on the mainland it is affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

Since the so-called liberation of Malaya, the British administration has been trying to turn the unions into harmless institutions that could only serve the interests of the bosses. An edict was passed which forced the unions to register with the Government before May 1st, 1947. But on April 26th, the Federation's application was rejected, and it was declared illegal as some unions affiliated to the S.F.T.U. were themselves not registered.

The British officials on the spot have seized every opportunity to weaken the unions whilst sponsoring Government backed unions, which, although small in forces number 30.

Many forms of intimidation are practised, from beating of striking workers and putting them in prison on phoney charges, to deportation without trial of trade union leaders. During the recent transport strike in Singapore, the President of the Union stated to a newspaper: "This morning a Police Inspector and a detective came to the premises and asked the men why they did not go back to work."

At a Press Conference, Sir Franklin Gimson, Governor of Singapore said this to say: "The whole background and

detailed working of the Trade Union system in Singapore is to be scrutinised by the Government in order to bring the system into line with the law."

"Among points which would be examined by the full-time Registrar of Trade Unions, who is to be appointed, would be the trade union finances, the disposal of their funds, membership and control."

The Governor also said: "That the Government is determined to take firm action against any organisation which has not brought itself within the law by that date." (1st May.)

(Singapore "Sunday Times", March 19th). One of the major crimes of the Malayan Stalinists was to create illusions in the minds of the workers and peasants that the coming of the British would mean their liberation and a new era of democracy. The mailed fist of Imperialism is exposing this falsehood.

British trade unionists must rally to the side of their colonial brothers by demanding of the Labour Government and the T.U.C. that a halt be called to all forms of police and Governmental measures which are designed to injure the development of a healthy, militant and free trade union movement in Malaya.

Hands off the Malayan Trade Unions! T.R.

PARTY NEWS

TREDEGAR VISIT OF COMRADE HASTON

On Wednesday, 7th May, Comrade Haston addressed an exceptionally well attended meeting of the Tredegar Discussion Group. About thirty-five attended, including a number of local C.P.'ers. Comrade Haston spoke on "World Perspectives in the Coming Period."

His analysis was well received and lively discussion followed. The inevitable C.P. opposition was easily dealt with, Comrade Haston making quite clear to all present the anti-working class role played by the Stalinist Parties, particularly in Europe since the end of the War. On Sunday, May 4th, Harry Pollitt spoke at Tredegar, and workers who heard both speakers were able to see clearly the difference between the revolutionary policy of the R.C.P. and that of the so-called "Communist"

Party as put forward by their leading speaker.

About two dozen "Socialist Appeals" were sold, and a collection amounting to 10/- was given to the Fighting Fund. It is hoped that advanced workers in this area, those renowned as being politically alert, will give serious thought to the policy of our Party, the only Marxist and Revolutionary party in this country.

The following Wednesday, May 14th, Comrade Haston spoke on the same subject to a small but appreciative meeting at Tredegar, a small but politically advanced village near Tredegar. Again discussion was lively and a collection of five shillings was given to the Fighting Fund. Once known in the area as "Little Moscow", because of its "red" tendencies, the embracing of real Bolshevik ideas should again lead to its being known by this title. R.J.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

BY P. NORMAN

TO STRIKE OR NEGOTIATE

At the recent Conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, the question of strike action and the present machinery for negotiating, came sharply to the fore.

After a tirade of condemnation of "unofficial strikes" by Minister of Labour Isaacs, the Conference decided that the present negotiating machinery was out of date, and it should be replaced with a scheme that was more in keeping with present day conditions.

In an attempt to minimise the growing number of "unofficial" disputes, the T.U.C., Labour and Communist Parties are giving great publicity to this line of thought. Especially is this the case with the Executive Councils of all the large trade unions.

Sensing with alarm the widening gap between themselves and the rank and file, the E.C.'s look around for new methods of keeping the organised workers from taking strike action. In the A.E.U. for instance, with its 800,000 members, the York Memo is a perfect example of long winded negotiating procedure. Formulated in 1919, this procedure is today used by the employers to break workshop organisation. This York Memo, with seven stages of procedure, is rigidly adhered to by the E.C. of the A.E.U. This to the detriment of hundreds of the best militants and shop stewards in that Union. Six months of negotiating procedure is considered a short period under the York Memo conditions. During that time many of the best shop stewards and convenors have kicked their heels on the streets, finally never to return to their original employment.

The A.E.U. is not alone in this field. Covered by what is known as Joint Industrial Councils, workers in gas, electricity, transport, and many other such undertakings are hamstrung by similar "York Memo" conditions of negotiation. The present spate of strikes has pushed to the foreground the

CROYDON TRADES COUNCIL

Defeats Recruiting Campaign

Trotskyist members of the Croydon Trades Council were the fore in defeating a recommendation by their Executive Council, by 18 votes to 17, that the Trades Council should appoint a representative to Croydon's T.A. Recruiting Committee.

This Committee has been organised by Sir Ernest Cowell as part of the recruiting campaign in Surrey. Both trade unions and employers had been invited to sit on the Committee.

The meeting was very lively and militant speeches were made against the motion. The Stalinists and the right wing on the Council supported the executive.

According to the "Croydon Times & Surrey County Mail", Reg. Brown, (Building Trade Workers) said:

"It is coming to something when the Executive Committee put themselves forward as recruiting sergeants for the Territorial Army."

"The only reason for the existence of the T.A. is that it can be used in the interests of capitalism in the next war."

Charlie Sisley (U.S.D.A.W.), stated that: "we won't get a different Army in Britain by sending a delegate to this Committee."

"The T.A. is controlled by the colonels and ex-colonels who represent the most reactionary forces in this country." Declared Gus Bayes (A.E.U.): "They are not all doddering old blimps, but very astute Tories for imperialism."

This newspaper did not mention the alternative policy put at the meeting which called for a complete clearing out of the present military leadership in the T.A. and the Regular Army and its replacement by officers with socialist convictions drawn from the working class.

Support came from some C.P.'ers and militant workers. In all it was a splendid effort of the Croydon workers.

question of speeding up the negotiations from the top. From the "Daily Worker" to the capitalist press this has been the one solution advanced: speedier negotiations. The implications of this being that a speed-up of the E.C.'s talking niceties across the table to the employers would eventually end strikes.

Not The Solution

While all workers are for quicker negotiations, it is criminal on the part of these leaders to imbue the workers with the idea that this would solve the problem. Because, when workers come to the position of demanding a rise in wages, or the return of a victimised convenor, the answer from the employers is invariably a defiant "No." So to imply that a "no" today would stop a strike, whereas a "no" six months hence would not, is a complete falsity that does not confuse the employers but disorients the working class in their day to day encounters with the employers.

Action The Only Answer

The task on the order of the day for trade unionists is one of forcing E.C.s out from behind the shelter of Arbitration Tribunals, York Memos and their like, and forcing them to wage a serious struggle for the demands of the day.

The necessity of waging a militant campaign is steadily increasing as the employing class look to the future of once again having a large industrial reserve army at their factory gates.

Official support for disputes such as the "Cossor Case", the Napier's Liverpool victimisation, the Adrema strike, would give the rank and file a tremendous sense of solidarity behind the E.C.s, and would be the speediest way of ending the disputes.

This must be the demand. For official recognition of all strikes that are in defence of wages and workshop organisation. Trade Unionists! Through your branches and workshop committees demand that your E.C. pursue this policy as the best way to protect and build the trade union movement.

Letters

To the Editor

From a German Mother

April 23rd, 1947.

Dear Friends, Several days before Easter we received three parcels from you. What joy!

Normally the worker is looking forward to Easter as a rest from work. The housewife enjoyed the spring cleaning, knowing that after finishing work she could make her husband and children happy by baking cakes and preparing food for the special Easter Sunday joint.

But now, hunger, no clothing, no shoes. Gas and electricity rationed to practically nil. Many families had their electricity cut off for exceeding their quota and were fined too. I was fined 472 marks for using more electricity than permitted, owing to my children's illness. As a comparison, my husband receives now 35 marks sick benefit. What now? Wood and coal are unobtainable. In the streets you see nothing but ruins and dust, a sight which makes one's misery even more unbearable. We are suffering mentally, that's why most people go to pieces.

We haven't got a place of our own to live in, nor furniture, nor any household utensils. Instead of tackling real problems which ought to be solved our elected representatives fight each other for better positions and their personal well-being. These are the sort of problems our Party leaders have. These were always their chief problems, otherwise we would not have had to endure two wars and these terrible miseries.

Dear friends, can you imagine how we gazed at the wonderful gifts you sent us in your parcels? The children danced around the room like red Indians. I saw my husband smile again and enjoy himself. He had forgotten how, since his return from a prisoner of war camp, myself, I couldn't speak for joy. The children

wanted to know whether we couldn't live in England where such wonderful things were to be had. It is simply indescribable how kind you have been to us. At last my husband has something to wear. Unfortunately we have no possibility of thanking you properly as we would very much like to do. My husband says: he is carrying out his duties in your way... that's how best he can thank you. He is seldom at home. Conferences and meetings occupy all his time, that's why I'm taking the opportunity to write to you myself. You ask us what we need. I have to inform you that my husband does not approve of me asking for anything. Of what our position is, will be clear to you from the following:

Since my husband was not a member of the Nazi Party or any subsidiary organisation and not even a member of the Fascist (so-called) trade union, my children and I had to pay for it in many ways. Whenever there were extra allocations of fruit or vegetables we received none. At Christmas time when other children went to official Christmas parties, my children were not considered. How I had to suffer as a mother when my children were shown toys and dolls that other children had received. Again and again I had to console them when I needed consoling myself. Everything was for the Nazis and today they pretend to be victims who were forced to join the Nazi organisation. Then they were proud—today miserable looking specimens. No heroes indeed. Apart from being ostracised from everyone we were daily bombarded, sometimes two or three times daily. What we had to endure for the power lust of these fascist imperialist robbers is impossible to describe.

In closing I thank you again with heartfelt greetings.

Yours, Lisa Mannheim

On the May Day Manifesto

THE ROLE OF STALINISM

London, 19th May, 1947.

Dear Editor, We refer to that section of the May Day Manifesto, published in the May issue of "Socialist Appeal", entitled "A United Socialist States of Europe and of the World." Despite its title, this section really deals with Russia, its Government and the actions of its Government abroad.

We are sorry to see that no mention is made of the totalitarian repression under which the masses of Russia suffer. There is no gain-saying the fact that Stalin's regime is the most thoroughgoing, most organised and extensive apparatus of coercion and oppression extant in the world today.

The Manifesto makes no mention of this, and also gives nothing but the merest precis of the Stalinist Government's crimes in the Russian-controlled countries of Eastern Europe. Simply to say "the Stalinist bureaucracy is robbing, looting and spreading disillusionment among the peoples of Europe", is indeed a masterpiece of understatement. What of the millions carried off by Stalin to perform slave-labour in Russia? What of the other millions torn from their homes and driven to starvation and death in the rump of Germany? What of the terror-

istic rule of Stalin's N.K.V.D. in Poland, the Baltic States, Eastern Germany, etc.? What of the violence and repression directed against the organisations of the workers?

The Manifesto does not even call for the overthrow of the Stalinist regime in Russia. It contents itself with what can only be termed a platonic statement, that the "remains" of the October Revolution can be saved only by the extension of the Revolution to Europe and the World. Granted that this statement still remains true today, it has been equally true since October 1917. But we have long since drawn further conclusions therefrom: the Stalinist regime must first be overthrown, if the Russian workers are to participate in this extension. There is absolutely no reason whatsoever why the Manifesto should abstain from calling for the downfall of Stalinism. The problem acquires hundredfold urgency today, when Stalinist totalitarianism constitutes the largest and most powerful bulwark of reaction in Europe.

We hope these startling omissions from the Manifesto will be rectified in the next issue of "Socialist Appeal". Yours faithfully, B. Evans R. Carson

Our German Comrades are beginning to receive our Parcels

Read the Letter from a German Mother.

COMRADES! Such messages should spur us to greater efforts in aiding German Communists and Socialists. Send a Parcel a Month to:—

H. CHASE,
256 Harrow Road,
London - W.2.

From LEFT and RIGHT

BY AGITATOR FROM THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY

"BRITISH GRIT" ONLY REQUIRED

IF YOU come to live in this country without having taken the precaution to be British born, then you're counted out of the man-power drive. You can "want" but you can't "work"! Or so it appears.

WHILST on the subject of racialism, we cannot avoid commenting on the Lynch trial of thirty-one whites in Greenville, South Carolina. The thirty-one were charged with having lynched a Negro. All were acquitted, though they did not deny their guilt.

The farcical judicial proceedings in the Southern States amount to little less than legal sanction of murder... provided it's a negro who is the victim. This is revealed by the manner in which the defence was argued. "Willie Earle (the victim of the lynching) is dead, and I wish many more like him were dead." This argued one defence attorney. Another one likened the victim to a "mad dog which should have been killed."

It is difficult to imagine the horrible conditions of repression and provocation under which the negroes live in the Southern States of the most industrially developed capitalist country in this, the twentieth century. Yet it is true that in these regions of the United States, racial prejudice (after the war for the Rooseveltian "four freedoms"!)

when there aren't enough to go round; in the competition of the small farmers and middle class for a share of the diminishing trade. Therein also lies the basis—in the struggle against capitalism—for the unity of the white and coloured workers, of the Jewish and non-Jewish workers.

WINSTON'S BEEF

CHURCHILL didn't have his beef as usual last week-end. By this we don't mean his weekend tirade against the Labour Government. Literally he didn't have his beef.

The wealthy members of the British ruling class have been receiving meat parcels from Southern Ireland. The Eire Government is now prohibiting this export, in order that Irish citizens should have some meat for themselves. It was a good racket while it lasted. The Irish butchers made fabulous profits from the high prices charged for the 50,000 parcels despatched weekly. Their wealthy English customers evaded rationing in this way. A good time being it has all! For the time being it has been stopped. But let it be noted, by the Eire authorities. NOT by the British Labour Government who are so busily urging the workers to "work or want."

500 Attend Connolly Demonstration

To pay tribute to James Connolly, that great revolutionary who was murdered 31 years ago by British Imperialism, over 500 workers attended a Demonstration in Belfast organized by the Irish Trotskyists.

Comrades Bob Armstrong and Jim McClean were the speakers. Particular interest was taken in the proceedings by a dozen individuals—plain clothes policemen—and the inevitable shorthand writer taking copious notes of the speeches.

The first edition of "Workers' Republic", the new organ of the Irish Section of the Fourth International, just fresh from press, was circulated among the crowd, and almost 100 copies sold, not to mention the sale of other literature.

Good response, by way of a "throw-in" collection, was given by the workers to our appeal for financial aid.

The crowds who gathered round the May Day platforms of the Labour and Stalinist Parties, were no greater than that which supported our Connolly demonstration. This attendance augurs well for the growth of our movement in Ireland.

Read the Workers' Republic

Our Irish comrades have produced the first issue of their own paper called "WORKERS' REPUBLIC". This marks a great step forward for our Irish organisation. As the editorial of the first issue says:

"The Irish workers have now a paper, the name of which is the keynote of its policy—a policy based on the traditions of Connolly, Lenin and Trotsky."

We are sure that readers of the "Socialist Appeal" will be interested in reading the Marxist interpretation of Irish events. Take out a subscription. The paper will appear monthly and is sold at 3d. per copy.

Please write to: Business Manager, "Labour Publications", 36, Gresham Street, Belfast.

SOCIALIST APPEAL
Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party,
256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2.
Phone: CUN 2526.
EDITOR: E. GRANT.
BUSINESS MANAGER: D. GRAY.

REPARATIONS

Disaster For The Working Class

BY D. JAMES

In their demands for revenge on Germany, the Stalinists leave Lord Vansittart far behind. The peak has been reached by Paine Dutt, writing in "World News and Views" (10.5.47), when he overturns the whole traditional Communist attitude towards reparations.

He writes: "It will be recalled that after the First World War, Germany was to pay reparations to the countries of Europe which had been invaded and devastated. . . . But after the treaty had been signed, Britain and America changed their minds. Anglo-American high finance and monopoly capital was closely linked with German monopoly capital. A campaign was set going to proclaim the hardship on Germany of reparations, and the necessity of economically rebuilding Germany as the natural centre of European economy. France was compelled to retreat and accept the Dawes Plan for rebuilding Germany; later the Young Plan. . . . In the end far more capital was poured into Germany than Germany paid out in reparations."

his own past, he lies about the reasons for the failure of reparations. They failed because payments were economically impossible. Keynes pointed this out in 1919, and Lenin quoted him with approval as a farsighted capitalist. Presumably, on Dutt's analysis, Keynes and Lenin were "saboteurs" of reparations. In spite of the terrible exploitation of the German workers, reparations led to economic collapse and inflation in 1923. The Allies had expected it; they realised it was impossible to exact reparations, but used non-payment as a means of controlling Germany. American capital poured into Germany because of this collapse,

because of the previous reparations payments. The alternative was communist revolution. Reparations were finally cancelled during the world crisis of 1933, when Germany again could not possibly pay, and the Western capitalists financed Hitler as a bulwark against communism. "Thus it was not wicked plots, but the laws of capitalism, which dictated the end of reparations (and the alternative, Mr. Dutt, was communism, which also would have cancelled them). Dutt wants to perpetuate the illusions of 1918 that reparations could be paid, and to "rewrite" the history of the subsequent 15 years which shattered these illusions.

MORE INNOCENT VICTIMS

BY GRACE CARLSON — U.S.A.

Add to the list of imperialist crimes the damage done to unborn generations of Japanese children by the atomic bomb. In a recent interview in Washington, the Nobel Prize Winner, Dr. Herman Muller predicted that the unhappy descendants of the Hiroshima survivors might come to wish that their forefathers had been killed outright by the atomic explosion.

Dr. Muller's gloomy prediction is based upon his 20-year study of the effect of radioactivity upon heredity. By bombarding flies with X-rays, Dr. Muller was able to produce tremendous changes in their offspring. Monstrosities of all kinds resulted from the radiation: flies with extra legs and antennae or no legs and antennae; flies with every conceivable shape of wing or with no wings at all; flies with purple, white, green, brown and yellow eyes; flies with eyes that bulged.

well as bad mutations. Darwin's contribution to biology was to show that through the law of the survival of the fittest, mutations are largely responsible for evolution. But Nature took millions of years to evolve the present human species and, in the process, countless numbers of mutations lost out in the "struggle for existence". Certainly, no one wants to turn over to the American imperialists the job of speeding up the production of human mutations through the radioactivity of their atom bomb! At any rate, Dr. Muller does not believe that the atomic bomb will cause a favourable evolutionary speedup. According to this year's Nobel Prize winner in medicine and physiology, most mutations are bad. He does not think that the "X-ray treatment" given the Japanese people at Hiroshima and Nagasaki will improve the human race. Quite the contrary! Convinced that a large number of human monstrosities will be born to the atomic bomb survivors, Dr. Muller recommends that these people be made permanently sterile. But when are we going to "sterilize" the atom bomb?

Renault Strike

Stalinists Fear Growth of Trotskyism

BY CHARLES VAN GELDEREN

Since the "liberation" of France the Communist (Stalinist) leadership has experienced no difficulty in participating in the Government. They entered the government of De Gaulle and the government of every one of his successors, with a brief interlude during the "All-Socialist" Ministry of Leon Blum.

As members of the Government, Messrs. Florez, Duclos & Co., launched the slogan of "National Unity", the new euphemism for class collaboration. They supported the nationalisation policy which left the profits of the capitalists intact. They demanded that the workers sacrifice wages and conditions in order to "reconstruct" the capitalist economy.

("France Soir," May 3, 1947). Thus the Stalinists suddenly changed their policy from attacking the Renault strikers to supporting them.

War Against Colonial People

During this period, French imperialism launched a major war against the people of Indo-China. The "Communists" remained loyal to the Government. A second colonial war—this time against the nationalist movement of Madagascar—evoked only a parliamentary protest. The "Communists" continued to hold their cabinet posts—including that of Minister for Defence! They won the support of the great majority of the French workers at the last elections because they had pledged themselves to uphold the demand for a 25 per cent. wage increase. This promise was forgotten on the morrow of the elections.

Dismayed at developments they were powerless to hold back, the Stalinists hastened to place themselves at the head of the strike. To have failed to do so would have meant the forfeiture of working class support. Even Cabinet posts were not worth such a price. It would be far simpler to re-enter the Government at some future date than to regain the confidence of the workers. The Renault strike forced the Stalinists out of the Ramadier government and created a deep rift in the Socialist Party. It very nearly brought the whole Government down. Such is the power of the organised workers.

In the face of this record, the French workers were beginning to lose confidence in the "Communist" Party. They saw re-elected—but much more brazenly—all the acts associated with the social-democracy. Between Blum and Thorez there appeared to be no difference.

Once at the head of the strike, the Stalinists proceeded systematically to confuse the issues. The strikers demanded a 10 franc increase in basic wages. The Stalinists tried to get this reduced to 3 francs. Failing in this objective, they put forward a proposal for a ten franc increase in incentive pay. In this way they tried to tie up pay increases with their whole past policy of "production first." But weak and bleeding French capitalist economy can only revive on the backs of the workers. The capitalists want to speed up production but with no increase in pay. The workers want more pay to meet the constantly rising prices. They don't want the speed-up.

Workers Seek New Leadership

The advanced workers began to look for new leadership and at the elections last June, 45,000 revolutionary workers cast their votes for the twelve lists put forward by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Trotskyists). Then came the Renault strike. It began with a walk-out of 1,500 workers in two departments of the great metal works on April 25th. On the following Monday, a mass meeting in Billancourt, at which the principal speaker was Lambert, a leading French Trotskyist, supported the call for a general strike in support of the two departments. By Wednesday, all the 30,000 Renault workers were out.

It was left to the Stalinists to attempt to reconcile these two conflicting class interests. This is what Duclos meant when he declared that, though out of the Cabinet, the "Communist" Party was "still a Government Party." In other words, it would continue its role of preaching class collaboration in the interest of "national unity."

At the Cabinet meeting on the eve of a split in the French Government Thorez stated: "But in this event the C.G.T. is over-run by the Trotskyists who appear to have taken the lead of the movement for wage increases. Therefore, in order that the C.G.T. shall not allow itself to be over-run it has decided to-night to support these demands. And we of the Communist Party, will equally support these wage demands."

Repression of Greek Trotskyists

ATHENS—Five members of the Internationalist Communist Party of Greece (Greek Section of the Fourth International) have just been arrested, accused of breaking the "public order" measures decreed by the reactionary Maximos-Salardaris government. In Salonika 3 other members of the I.C.P., including one woman are to be tried by court martial and face the death sentence. Five other members have been condemned to two months imprisonment for distributing a leaflet.

Editorial

Out with the Blimps

Military conscription is here to stay. By the talk of things in Parliament it is possible that in a few years' time, arguments will be advanced to draw more age groups into the scheme. Mr. Alexander, Minister of Defence, declined to promise that conscription would be dropped, if voluntary recruitment provided enough troops.

The Bill covers up to the year 1953, when 210,000 conscripts are due to be roped in. It is accepted all round that the measure will be extended if the world situation warrants it. These rulers know full well that the world they are shaping means bigger armies and more terrifying weapons of destruction for the future.

Not only are working class youth to bear the burden of conscription, but capitalist Britain has tied around the necks of the working class the terrible costs of military expenditure, directly and indirectly, as shown by Mr. Rhys Davies, Labour and Pacifist M.P., during the last debate on the Bill. For the financial year, 1947-8, about 900 million pounds is being spent on the armed services. Mr. R. Davies, said:

"It means £20 per head for every man, woman and child in the country: For a man and wife with 3 children it means that they must find £100 a year or £2 a week, for the fighting services. Next year, we shall spend on the Fighting Services, 7 times as much as on education, 11 times as much as on health and housing and 8 times as much as on old age pensions. We shall spend next year on the Fighting Services nearly as much as the total of the National Loan."

Not one revolutionary voice could be heard in Parliament to expose the whole rotten set up.

Our opposition to conscription is based on the fact that the present armed forces are controlled and used by the capitalist State, for its own class interests. Only a small percentage of officers, Lieutenants and Captains come from the working class. The high ranking jobs are kept for the sons and daughters of the wealthy. An iron control is maintained on class lines. Recently in Parliament, Sir George Jeffreys (Cons. Petersfield), said: that the bad effect of bringing officers of a different class into the army was to be deplored.

If the Labour Government was sincerely interested in Socialism, its first act would have been to disband the present army and institute a workers' Militia based on the factories. The young Bolshevik Government under Lenin and Trotsky built the powerful Red Army of 1917 on that basis. It is utterly fantastic to allow the officer caste, with its deep anti-socialist bias to exist a day longer as they present at every step a danger to any progress in the direction of Socialism.

Just as Cripps thinks that the workers are incapable of running industry so his partners believe that only the sons and daughters of the rich can control an efficient military machine. In Spain, during the Civil War, the workers of Barcelona immediately increased production 4-5 times when they took over the factories. An excellent example can be shown from Russia in the early days of the revolution when an army had to be built from scratch. Trotsky speaking on the 7th Dec., 1919, to the Seventh All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Red Army and Labour Cossacks Deputies said: "Finally comrades, we have a certain number of responsible commanders who have neither passed through the old schools or through our new courses and academies."

He gave some fine examples.

"You heard the representative of the Turkestan front Comrade Frunze speak here. All his previous military training consisted in having shot, if I am not mistaken, at a local chief of police who shot at workers. At the present moment he commands an army and according to despatches from the Chief of Staff, he is a successful commander. The N— Army, one of the best, is commanded by Comrade Sokolnikoff . . . a civilian. Now he commands an army. We have a brilliant commander in the person of Comrade Tuckhatchevsky, who was something between a first and second lieutenant, who has conducted a number of brilliant operations in the decisive battles against Koltchak (later became head of the Red Army). We find still greater varieties in the divisions. There we will find a number of late non-commissioned officers who are now what formerly would have been called generals of divisions. Small armies are commanded by a late N.C.O., who had a very good peace-time occupation—he was a barber." Many more examples were given.

Let us remember that this same Red Army, commanded by workers and peasants, defeated the power of 14 capitalist armies. The workers of Spain in the early days of the Civil War organised their own battalions and drove out the Fascist armies.

The lesson that every serious worker in the Labour movement should learn is the revolutionary alternative to capitalist conscription. To allow the Colonel Blimps to remain in control is to sabotage all attempts to remove capitalism. The Labour Government must be forced to end this situation. The workers, loyal to socialist principles, would take naturally to the learning of military science and leadership because it would benefit mankind.

Germans Desert To Vietnam

In their struggle to suppress the movement of independence in Indo-China, the French imperialists did not stop at using German troops. The "Ceylon Observer," Sunday Edition of March 30th, 1947, reports that 2,000 German soldiers serving in the French Foreign Legion have gone over to the side of the colonial people.

New Delhi, March 29. "Professor Tranvan Glau, former President of the Vietnam Resistance Committee in Cochinchina, who is now a member of the Vietnam delegation to the Asian Relations Conference, said that 2,000 Germans out of 25,000 Germans, serving in the French Foreign Legion in Indo-China, had deserted to Vietnam. "Many of them belonged to Rommel's Afrika Corps" he said. He asked the presence of the Germans now manufacturing their own Bazookas and light machine-guns.—(A.P.I.)"

From the "Ceylon Observer," March 30th, 1947.

For a United India

Against Pakistan and Partition

BY H. ANDREWS

THE SUN is setting on the most cherished possession of British imperialism. But this most priceless oriental jewel of the imperial crown is now reflecting a new light. The flames of civil war are already beginning to flicker and glow. The Labour Government's proposals to partition India along communal lines will help to burn up the revolutionary energy of the masses in futile communal strife.

But what alternative is there for the Labour leaders? The answer is none, so long as they perform the role of agents of British imperialism.

This intrigue. Thus Ali Zaheer, a former minister of the Interim Government could recently state publicly: "If Pakistan is conceded, as appears inevitable, whether in a truncated form or otherwise, the presence of the British Government in India can be taken for granted. They will be there at the invitation of one party or the other." Or, we may add, by both.

major force in Indian politics, which is undoubtedly gaining the ear of the masses, the Communist Party, veers and tacks along an opportunist course in accordance with the breezes blowing from Moscow. No considerations of principle are allowed to guide the conduct of the Stalinist leaders. When Hitler and Stalin were allied, the Indian C.P. leaders favoured Pakistan as a pretext to sabotage the August 1942 uprising against imperialism. If today the tactic is to try and orientate the Indian bourgeoisie in the direction of Russia, then they support the Congress demand and ditch Pakistan. What Paine Dutt today correctly calls the "dismemberment of India", what this Stalinist leader now likens to the partition of Ireland, the Stalinists, in the early 1940's were prepared to support in return for an alliance with Jinnah and his reactionary outfit.

HOW maintain Britain's hold on Asia? That is the labour of a gnomes. Truly, as Tribune admits, "The Indian question has indeed come home to roost." To maintain India "by the sword" is no longer within the power of senile British imperialism. Other methods are now being employed. Not new ones, but different applications of the policy of "divide and rule." The British Empire was built on the dictum "divide and rule." In the declining years of British imperialism this policy is followed out in an attempt to hold on to some remnants of her former imperial "glory". Hence the partition of Ireland; the probability of the partition of Palestine; the manoeuvres of Berlin & Co. to separate the Sudan from Egypt; the attempt to create "independent" units, owing allegiance to the British Crown in Burma; and now the division—more accurately the dismemberment—of the sub-continent of India. This sorry chronicle of desperate intrigues, begun after World War I, is being continued by the first majority Labour Government. How clearly it illumines the role of Labour's official leadership as the instrument of finance capital.

India's partition is a fundamental one. It can be solved only by the masses taking the road of social revolution. The next stage is the struggle for a genuinely representative constituent Assembly in the struggle for which the Soviets can be built and prepared the way for the taking of power by the exploited masses, including the peasantry, with the young and growing Indian working class at the head of such a Government. Thus, and only thus, will it be possible for the Indian toilers to shake off the yoke of imperialist oppression and also to throw off their backs the Indian capitalists and landlords who are now busy lining up with imperialism.

There is no other way to explain the course being pursued by those who speak in Labour's name. Were they concerned to grant self-determination to India, it could be done effectively by a stroke of the pen, decreeing the end of British rule, and the withdrawal of the armed forces. Instead, the future of India is discussed behind the closed doors of a Cabinet meeting in London. The Viceroy of the Labour Government arranges secret horse deals with the representatives of Indian big capital and landlordism, while the "Daily Herald" piously declaims that the "choice" is to be "left to India."

The Moslem League has gained its following only during the last ten years or so. The Jinnah of today, however, is prepared to fan the flames of communalism which can only culminate in bloody massacre and arson in which the masses alone suffer and die in order to drive a bargain with British imperialism in the partnership agreement now being worked out between feudal landlordism, Indian capitalism and imperialism.

THE PLAN to divide India into warring states is a manoeuvre designed to maintain a foothold for British imperialism in India. Even the Indian Capitalist Nationalist leaders, who are a party to it, admit the nature of

TODAY there exists no organisation with a mass following which can give a revolutionary lead to the Indian masses in the approaching struggles. Congress, the party of Hindu big business, and the Moslem League, the party of the Moslem feudal landlords, has sold out to British imperialism. The petty-bourgeois Socialist Party has all the shortcomings of a Centrist organisation. The other

At the Cabinet meeting on the eve of a split in the French Government Thorez stated: "But in this event the C.G.T. is over-run by the Trotskyists who appear to have taken the lead of the movement for wage increases. Therefore, in order that the C.G.T. shall not allow itself to be over-run it has decided to-night to support these demands. And we of the Communist Party, will equally support these wage demands."

POLICY OF THE R.C.P.



1. Nationalisation of the land, of all atomic processes, of all large financial, insurance, industrial, distributive and transport enterprises without compensation, and the operation of these enterprises on the basis of an overall production plan under control of workers' and technicians' committees.
2. Abolition of business secrets. All company books to be open to inspection by trade unions and workers committees.
3. Distribution of food, clothes, fuel and other consumers goods in short supply under the control of committees elected from the co-ops, distributive trades, factories, housewives and small shopkeepers which will eliminate the black market.
4. The control and allocation of existing housing space in the hands of tenants committees; a state financed national house-building plan to be directed by the building trades unions and tenants committees.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the increased cost of living with a guaranteed minimum and a falling scale of hours to absorb the unemployed, who must be fully maintained while not working; a 40-hour week maximum without loss of earnings.
6. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; full electoral rights for all from the age of 18; and full political and civil rights for men and women in the forces; the immediate repeal of all strike-breaking and anti-labour laws.
7. Abolish Conscription: For the dissolution of the standing army and its substitution by a workers' militia.
8. For the abolition of military law; clear out the reactionary anti-labour officer caste from the armed forces; for the election of officers from the ranks. For the establishment of military schools by the trade unions at the expense of the State for the training of worker officers.
9. Full and immediate freedom for India and the other colonies to choose their own form of government; the immediate withdrawal of British troops from all colonial countries.
10. End secret diplomacy and a peace of vengeance and plunder; end race hatred, anti-semitism, Vansittartism and the colour bar; the withdrawal of British troops from Europe and Asia and a peace based upon the self-determination of the peoples of Europe, Asia and the world.
11. Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers; for the overthrow of the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy and the re-introduction of workers' democracy in Russia.
12. Full support and active co-operation with the European workers against all occupying forces, for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a United Socialist States of Europe; unity with the workers and exploited masses of all lands in the struggle for world socialism.

A Welsh Miner on the FIVE DAY WEEK

BY J. JONES — GWAUN-CAE-GURWEN



On the eve of the Five Day Week in Britain's nationalised pits, a voice was heard at a Geneva Conference. It was the oratorical voice of the so-called "Communist" Secretary of the British Miners' Union, Mr. A. L. Horner.



Renowned of Red Rhondda of yesterday, he was reported to have stated:

"If the production of coal lags behind the six day figure, the whole position in relation to the five day week would have to be reconsidered."

Other utterances in the same vein, from various "technicians" in charge of the nationalised mining industry, rang out in unification with those of the "Red" Secretary of the days of yore.

The miners themselves, taking into account the dark days of the past, noted the statement of their now highly paid servant, with dismay. But flushed with the seemingly "red concession" of the "Socialist" Government in power, they literally took a "leap in the dark", heaving from the coal seams of the earth nearly the same amount of coal as they did previously in a six day week. Instead of a week-end holiday, the miners spent their week-ends recuperating from their extra labours, exhausted.

The nation's newspapers and radio applauded the feat. White starched collar folks beamed; and the white starched collar gentlemen, worn the other way about (the parsons) patted the miners' tired backs.

In the thanksgiving offerings, one wonders if these "God's messengers" thought of their privileged position with some uneasy disquiet in view of the fact that it only needs one day of their services to please capitalist society, in a so-called socialist

state. Or perhaps their guilty conscience was eased by the Holy Book quotation: Six days shalt thou labour, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest. Maybe, like their traditional white collar, the other way about, they read the holy words: "... Six days shalt thou rest ..."

But such interpretations on religious quotations are of secondary importance in relation to the coal crisis.

The Five Day Week has come to stay, says the Socialist Government, holding tightly the nation's reins—providing that those who do the "donkey work" will slave enough in the shafts to make up for their leisure time. Such is Attlee's socialism.

With their hard and fast rule of six days labour in five, vicious "penalties" will be enforced in the Five Day Agreement, to make the miner face the facts of the future.

Firstly, he is not allowed to sleep late. But in consideration of such a possibility, certain latitude is given. They make sure after the first awakening they will "make the miner" shift. His eyes will literally pop out of their sockets on the following pay day.

For a beginning, 16% of his total wages will have vanished. Then, to make sure that the miner is taught a lesson, allowances on his "stall" varying from 10% to 12% is deducted. Also, he loses a shift.

No medical certificate is acceptable. If the miner loses a shift, he loses two shifts. Also, if a workman or workwoman, work a "cross-shift", the Agreement states that those who work the afternoon shift do not qualify for the 16%, although they will have worked the same number of shifts as the workmen "crossing them",

as done on the morning shift. This section of the miners are very angry about it. They do not see it straight.

If a miner wants to leave the pit prior to the end of the shift, he must first get permission. Only those with a "cast iron case" are eligible for consideration, or the 16% loss is dangled before his eyes which is sufficient to make his far from cast iron chest heave with emotion.

In relation to the surface workmen, the Cinderella's of the industry, there has been a shindy, because of time taken for meal-time, resulting in this class of workman being made to work 20 minutes more every day to make up for time lost in their meal times. They earn £4 8s. 6d., less 4/- average deductions for doctor, nursing, etc. These surface workmen again lose two shifts if they lose one.

Other vicious penalties affecting all classes of workmen in the industry are to be found in the "Five Day Agreement of Six Days of Labour" that have no identification whatsoever with socialist legislation. That it will lead to the inevitable cracking up of the miners' health because of the crazy "speeding up" is a foregone conclusion. The voice at Geneva would be more in order if he would not bolster up capitalist society which he professed to hate in the past, but demanded workers' control of the industry and the ending of payment of colossal compensation to the coal owners. Only by a communist policy of confiscation of property, based on the teaching of Marx and Lenin, can a true solution be found to the mining industry. "The voice of Geneva" knows it. He preached it in the Welsh valleys years ago, before he reached the "top".

An End to Tied Cottages

Despite the opposition of Aneurin Bevan and the platform, the Labour Party Conference carried a resolution calling for the immediate abolition of the Tied Cottage system. By this action they carried forward the struggle of the agricultural workers for a decent life and a complete break with the feudal past.

No section of the working class has suffered more under capitalism than those who toil on the land. Agriculture was the last stronghold of feudalism and when the rural landowners surrendered to capitalism they tried to preserve as much of the old, out-moded feudal relations as they could. Life and work on the farm and in the villages were tied with all sorts of restrictions. Isolated from the main body of the working class, the farm labourer suffered the most vicious exploitation. Even the franchise won by the majority of town workers in 1867, was withheld from the workers in the countryside till 1883.

With the improvement of communications and better contact with brothers and cousins who had migrated to the industrial centres, the land worker began to absorb the lessons of the class struggle. From the industrial workers he learned the value of organisation. The pages of working class history are filled with the story of his fight to free himself from what Engels called "the bestial existence of rural life."

If the first organisations of the town workers met with opposition from the employing classes, the early attempts to organise the landworkers roused a veritable fury of hatred. The revolt of agricultural labourers in 1830 was drowned in blood. Joseph Arch's Agricultural Labourers Union met with the united opposition of Church, Whig and Tory. The names of six men of Dorset—the Tolpuddle Martyrs—are legendary.

But the farm workers fought on. They joined forces with their town brothers and in bitter struggle have wrung concession after concession from the grasping hands of the landowners. That struggle, however, cannot end till farming is recognised on socialist lines, and integrated into an overall socialist economy.

The Tied Cottage is a last remnant of feudal relations on the land. It is an anachronism in a Britain where a Labour Government is in power. Current housing shortages make the system, always pernicious, an especially powerful weapon against the farm worker. The desperate necessity of keeping a roof over the heads of his family ties him, not only to the cottage, but to his job as surely as the feudal bonds of the bad old days.

The Margate decision is a victory for the farm labourer. It is a victory for the entire working class. Pressure on the Government for immediate action must not be relaxed till the Tied Cottage takes its place in the museum of antiquities—a relic of a barbaric past.

C. VAN Gelderen

Reparations

(Continued from Page 3.)

to 650 calories a day and 30 per cent. of the employees of the public authority are off sick from lack of food. ("News Chronicle", May 13.)

But this is not due to Potsdam, administration and leaving the Nazi saboteurs in control in the Western zones.

While there is some truth in this, it is a downright lie to make out that it is the main cause of famine in Germany. The main cause is the Allied policy of shifting German industry and the Russian policy of grabbing German land.

Owing to annexations of German territory and expulsion of their populations, the population density in Germany today is 510 per square mile, as against 360 in 1933. Added to this are the Russian and French armies living off the land. The home food supply has fallen by 25 per cent. owing to Poland's occupation of the Eastern lands—and agrarian production there has fallen to 33 per cent. of its former value.

This inflated population can only be fed by imports, which must be paid for by exports of manufactured goods. But industry today is only about 35 per cent. of its pre-war level, and under Potsdam would rise only to about 40 per cent. in the basic branches (i.e., in steel, to the level of 1930-33, when 7½ million people were unemployed).

The industrial workers who are unemployed cannot live on the land, as it cannot support anywhere near their number, particularly without fertilisers and tractors—which are produced by the forbidden "war" industries.

This is why Dutt's statement is a foul deception. Comparisons with other countries are meaningless in themselves. Germany must be a great industrial power, because she has a population which cannot be supported otherwise. That is why Potsdam means starvation.

The Anglo-Americans lie when they say the Germans starve because of the world food shortage—that is why the Americans are wallowing in butter, and ploughing in potatoes? The Stalinists lie when they say it is Nazi sabotage. The real reason is the stifling of German industry, for which they are both responsible.

Division of Germany into two zones makes it worse. But the Stalinist "offer" of economic unity is hypocritical, because a condition of this unity is that reparations should be paid out of current production, i.e., taking away with one hand what they give with the other.

If the Anglo-Americans refuse these reparations until Germany is able to pay for her imports, it is not chiefly because of "sabotage", but because experience of administering Germany is teaching them that reparations, "pastoralisation" and the rest are lunacy. On the other hand, the Russians can sit back, because they have got the agrarian half of Germany and are not faced with the same problems; moreover, they carefully keep any news about their zone from leaking out anyway, so no-one can criticise what they are doing.

Thus life is teaching once again what it taught after 1918, that reparations are a pipe-dream, and even to try to get them means un-

toiled misery for tens of millions of people. But apparently Mr. Dutt cannot learn.

Support The German Workers!

The German workers, at least, are recognising what must be done.

1,000 delegates of Ruhr Trade Unions, meeting at Mulheim, demanded an end of dual (Allied-German) control; that Germany be allowed to fish on the high seas, to produce more synthetic fat and fertilizer, petrol and rubber; that the dismantling of works not purely producing arms should end; and a decisive voice for Trade Unions and co-operatives in a series of control committees which should be set up to plan the economic programme, control allocations of coal, machinery, raw materials and consumers' goods, and enforce measures to ensure full deliveries through the legal market of agricultural production." ("Observer", May 18).

Mr. Dutt, presumably, would call this a Nazi plot, financed by America, to revive German war potential. For our part we welcome it as a step in the right direction, towards ending the Allied occupation and setting the German workers on the road to their conquest of power.

Who Must Pay?

The German workers bear as much and as little responsibility for Hitler's crimes as do the workers of Britain for the crimes of Britain in India, or the American workers for the Hiroshima horror, or the Russian workers for the despoliation of Eastern Europe.

It is the capitalists of all countries who unleashed the war, in order to defend their profits. The guilt is theirs: they must pay. Reject the false and lunatic attempt to place the burden on the German workers! Expropriate Big Business, break down the national barriers and let the peoples collaborate in peaceful reconstruction. That is the communist road.

Mr. Dutt and his party were once part of the Communist International, and swore by Lenin. We can do no better than quote the words of the Resolution on the Versailles Treaty, adopted at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, November, 1922. They apply with equal force to all the present-day Allied and Stalinist policies of reparations and revenge.

"But even the heaviest exploitation of the German proletariat, transformation of the German workers into European coolies, the terrible misery into which they are plunged by the Versailles Treaty, will not make it possible to pay reparations. . . .

The task of the Communist Parties, and in the first place those of the victorious countries, is to explain to the masses that the Treaty of Versailles puts all the burdens on the shoulders of the proletariat in the defeated countries, and that the workers of all lands are the real victims. On this basis the Communist Parties, especially those of Germany and France, must conduct a united struggle against the Treaty of Versailles."

Facts About Income Tax in Russia

The best proof of the tremendous differences and inequalities that exist in Russia can be found in the rate of income tax which prevails.

The rate of income tax reaches the maximum of 50% on incomes of 300,000 roubles or over.

A decree on the 4th April, 1940, established the rates of income tax as follows:—

| Yearly Income Roubles. | Wages and Salaries | Royalties, etc. | Co-operative Production. | Individual Artisans. | Private Practice and Professions. |
|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Up to 2,400 | 1.35 | 1.35 | 1.49 | 6.00 | 1.76 |
| 2,400 to 6,000 | 2.80 | 2.80 | 3.08 | 13.40 | 3.58 |
| 6,000 to 12,000 | 4.20 | 4.20 | 4.82 | 24.10 | 11.46 |
| 12,000 to 24,000 | 5.60 | 5.77 | 6.16 | 37.30 | 22.90 |
| 14,000 to 50,000 | 6.33 | 7.73 | 6.96 | 49.10 | 30.75 |

L. P. Conference

(Continued from Page 1.)

overwhelming support. On only two questions did they suffer a reverse: tied cottages and equal pay for women. Despite the opposition of Crawford (Boot and Shoe Operatives), on behalf of the Executive, to the immediate implementation of equal pay, the motion was overwhelmingly carried. Although this has been a traditional principle of the Labour movement, the Executive used every device of argument to defeat it. Although a secondary question, it will undoubtedly give the Government a head-ache. But that they are even prepared to shelve this question is commented upon by the "Observer" of June 1st:

"So far as one can judge the vote at the Party Conference has not in any way altered the attitude of the more important members of the Government. . . Ministers feel . . . that they cannot accept a position where they become the slavish flunkies of the rank and file. They agree that the Party Conference has the right to lay down the broad outline of policy, but the Cabinet must, they argue, have the final word and be left free to judge every issue in the light of the general situation."

They will probably shelve it by some promise of a future implementation and the granting of a compromise concession at this stage. But it is certain, recognising the tremendous vote for its general policy, the Government faces no serious crisis over this issue.

Reasons For Move To Right

To thinking workers the results of this Conference cannot but be disturbing. The voting reflected a swing to the right of the Labour Party delegates.

The fact that the Government has pushed ahead with its election programme even more rapidly than anyone anticipated, the reforms that have been granted in Insurance benefits, five day weeks, holidays with pay, repeal of the Trades Disputes Act, etc., and the

apparently progressive aspects of foreign policy—withdrawal from Egypt, the granting of nominal independence to India—have heightened the confidence of the rank and file in the Government to do the job.

Coming to power at a time when the state of the world market provides conditions for a boom in the economy, when they are able to maintain the illusion of full employment, and grant certain concessions, the Labour leaders have infused the organised workers with an even greater confidence in the methods of Social Democracy.

Labour Leaders Live In Fools Paradise

But the Labour leaders, despite their cockiness to-day, are living in a fool's paradise. The present favourable economic and political conjuncture which makes for stability in their rule, will not last indefinitely. Capitalism has its laws, which will not be abrogated by a million Margates. With present day technique, the situation will develop in a few short years when the world is no longer faced with a shortage, but an over-production of goods. In such a situation, the decline of British capitalism, largely masked to-day, will make itself felt with full force. The crisis in Britain will develop as sure as night follows day.

The decisions of Margate have not solved one single basic problem facing the working class. On the contrary, the intensification of the exploitation of labour, the speed-up, the pegging of wages etc., far from benefitting the workers, will aggravate their problems a thousand fold with the development of the slump.

At such a time there will no longer be the basis for joyful back-slapping on the part of the Labour leaders. The working class will demand an accounting. It will demand that serious measures are taken to end the miseries they will face. The illusion in the possibility of reforming capitalism will be shattered by cold economic reality.

To-day, the workers have been lulled into a false sense of security. With the development of the crisis the mood will rapidly alter. But

the outcome of events then will be partially determined by the manner in which the struggle is approached now.

The workers inside and outside the Labour Party must wage a struggle for real measures against the capitalist class, instead of attempting to break down the hard-won rights of the working class. In relation to the nationalisation plans it must be demanded that the employers receive not a single penny of compensation, and that the industries are placed under workers' management through democratically elected committees. They must wage a struggle against the repression of the colonial masses and the European populations, and for a genuine policy of international socialism.

Supporting every step that the Labour Government takes in the interests of the workers, and criticising any reactionary activity, the Trotskyists will be in the forefront of this struggle. In this fight the Labour workers will come to understand the need to build the Party of Revolutionary Communism as the only means of solving the problems that face them.

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ADREMA STRIKE

A.E.U., E.C. Refuse to Support Victimised Workers

(Continued from Page 1.)

interference on the part of the Employers' Federation... who appeared to have insisted that three people should not be reinstated at the end of the fuel crisis. In view of the "strike fomenting" activities of this association could nothing be done to avoid incidents of this character arising?" The Tories quite rightly cheered Mr. Isaacs' reply. So much for our Labour Ministers.

The most disgraceful feature of the strike was the manner in which the E.C. of the A.E.U. conveniently ignored the struggle of these workers. The strike concerned the question of victimisation of active A.E.U. members, vital to the whole movement. But despite repeated demands, not only from the strikers, and the Aacton local Organisational Committee, but also numerous A.E.U. branches for official recognition of the strike, the E.C. refused to move. This anti-Union attitude was exemplified in the position reported by a leading Strike Committee member of Joe Scott, E.C. member and prominent Stalinist, who has not yet replied to a request made 3½ weeks ago from Acton 7 A.E.U. Branch, which contains a large number of Adrema workers, for him to speak there.

The Fight Goes On

The militant spirit of the workers at the "back-to-work" meeting is the answer to all those who thought that through the withholding of funds, they would break the spirit of the workers and starve them into submission. On the contrary! If the Adrema Committee carry this fight into the

Union, it can serve as a rallying point in making a clean sweep of the leadership of the A.E.U. That is the spirit that must be introduced into every union branch. If the lessons are learned and the workers in the unions and factories mobilise around a militant programme the Adrema strike can serve as the beginning of a movement to revive the unions as fighting organs of the working class.

The resolution as presented at the strike meeting was amended from a statement "deploring the inactivity of the E.C." to read "the bare-faced treachery of the E.C.", and was carried with acclamation!

HENDON TRADES COUNCIL CORRECTION

In our last issue we stated that Stalinists on the E.C. of the Hendon Trades' Council tried to prevent the R.C.P. from participating in the May Day march. This mistake was all the more deplorable because actually, the proposal was made at a meeting of Marshals, composed of delegates from various trades councils, but on account of the opposition of the Hendon Trades Council delegate, who pointed out that if working class political parties were to be invited, then the R.C.P. had as much right to participate as any other working class party, the Stalinists were defeated.

What's on

CROYDON BRANCH R.C.P. COME AND HEAR THE POLICY OF THE PARTY AT OUR OPEN AIR MEETINGS! Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m. KATHARINE STREET Outside Town Hall

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